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AUTHOR Urban, Greg
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ABSTRACT

Two speech styles, origin-myth telling and ritual wailing, found among the Shokleng Indians of south Brazil are analyzed from the perspective of two specific functions of speech style: (1) for indexing or highlighting the subject matter in certain contexts, and (2) for relating the contexts and subject matters to other contexts and subject matters based the iconicity of its signals (pronunciation differences, distinct intonational patterns, etc.) with other linguistic and nonlinguistic signals employed in the culture. It is argued that there are certain formal-functional regularities in the relation between the special speech style and the everyday code, characterized as expressive restriction and formal amplification, and that the Shokleng speech styles use pragmatic (nonsemantic) features, taking the marked value of some pragmatic variable in everyday code and fixing it in the speech style. Formal amplification, an alternative form of marking, is found in the alternating use of semantically equivalent forms. The indexing function of the speech styles, which is stated as a hypothesis about the Shokleng styles, is seen to have a more general relevance in that speech styles tend to occur in connection with contexts or subject matters that are areas of cultural emphasis. The second speech style function considered, the iconic function, works both to lead to meanings in various directions and to pull together or bring into focus those diverse regions of the system to which it leads. (MSE)

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THE SEMIOTICS OF TWO SPEECH STYLES IN SHOKLENG

by

Greg Urban
The University of Texas at Austin

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Greg Urban

(The University of Texas at Austin)

1. INTRODUCTION

A speech style is a complex sign vehicle, composed of numerous linguistic signals, that can manifest a considerable functional richness:

1. As a code, it can be used to transmit semantico-referential (Silverstein 1976) or propositional meaning;
2. As a "style" distinct from other styles, it can be used to index or highlight the subject matter for which it is used or the contexts in which it is used;
3. As a complex signal, composed of numerous discrete signals, it can also relate the context and subject matter to other contexts and subject matters, based on the iconicity of its constituent signals (e.g., pronunciation differences, distinct intonational patterns) with other linguistic and non-linguistic signals employed in the culture.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze in some depth two speech styles — wañẽklẽn (or "origin-myth telling") and ẽ̃ (or "ritual wailing") — found among the Shokleng[1] Indians of south Brazil, primarily from the point of view of the latter two functions.

The study proposed here is one of the relationship between linguistic form and semiotic function. As such, my concern is not simply with the description of linguistic forms (e.g., intonational patterns, syntactic constructions, lexical usages) and of communicative or signalling functions, but also with an exploration of the nature of the connection between them. Specifically, I will be concerned with the formulation of a general hypothesis that allows us to predict certain aspects of the form of speech styles from an understanding of their communicative functions and vice versa. Along the way I will also be proposing certain hypotheses more clearly restricted to the study of Central Brazilian Amerindian speech styles.

2. THE CONCEPT OF SPEECH STYLE

It is important to point out first that a speech style is a "type," as opposed to a "token" or "instance", in semiotic terms. It is a general and recognizable form apart from the specific instances in which it is used (and recognized). Many of the papers in Style in Language (Sebeok 1960), a work primarily concerned with "individual style" in literature, take a view of style as deviation from a central norm. Thus, Osgood (1960: 293) says that style is an "individual's deviations from norms for the situations in which he is encoding..." Such a view is not appropriate for the concept of "speech style" employed here, if indeed it is appropriate to the concept of individual style. For a speech style is an alternative "norm," and when we analyze speech styles we can compare these norms with one another.

In saying that a speech style is a norm or type, I am implicitly making a claim about the multi-functionality of linguistic forms, a

claim made in a more general way by Trubetzkoy (1939: 14 ff.), Jakobson (1960), Hymes (1964), and Silverstein (197[illegible] among others. For it is perfectly conceivable for two linguistic utterances to be functionally equivalent in semantico-referential or propositional terms, but to form part of separate speech styles. An example of this is given below in connection with origin-myth narration (Section 3.2).

When I speak of multi-functionality in this sense, I am referring to the multiple "sign modes" in which a given sign vehicle may operate. Following Silverstein (1976),[2] who builds upon Peirce, I distinguish three principal modes: (1) iconic, wherein there is some actual resemblance between sign vehicle and entity signalled, (2) indexical, wherein there is a co-occurrence or physical connection between the two, and (3) semantico-referential, wherein the sign vehicle signals by virtue of instantiating a type within a system of types. There is also, of course, "multi-functionality" in the sense of the distinct social ends to which a given sign vehicle can be put.

M. Joos made a similar observation about the connection between multi-functionality and the analysis of speech style. Referring to what he called "markers," i.e., the specific formal characteristics of a speech style, he wrote that markers serve "to define the style and thereby to define the social occasion the way the speaker wants that occasion to be, so that each marker has a double function: it is part of the linguistic code, but it is also a label of the style — it is a code-label" (Joos 1968: 189). From the point of view of the present framework the latter formulation is not quite correct. The speech style is defined by a cluster of formal characteristics, phonetic, lexical, and syntactic, and any given instance of use of those charac-

teristics is a token of the speech style type. However, the second function, in present terms, is not to "label the style." It is to point to or highlight the social context in which that style is appropriate, i.e., its second function is as a social index.

The concept of speech style is bound up with that of variability in language, and hence with such other concepts as "dialect" and "register." It will be best, therefore, to specify somewhat more precisely what is meant by it. Dialects and registers are typically associated with distinct subgroups of the group of speakers of a language, subgroups distributed geographically or by social class. While it is possible for a given speaker to employ more than one dialect or register, this is by no means essential for these concepts. To employ Gumperz' (1972: 201-21) terminology, dialects and registers are components of the linguistic "repertoire" of a community, but not necessarily of an individual.[3]

Contrastively, "speech style," as used here, refers to code variants of a given language that are distributed not according to subgroup, but instead are within the "repertoire" of a given individual. It is the individual who shifts variants in accord with some aspect of the social context or of the subject matter. In this sense, speech styles are inherently indexical. Their use is associated in co-occurrence fashion with some other entity, i.e., context or subject matter, the entity signalled.

The stipulation that speech styles are "code variants" of a language needs to be emphasized, but also requires some elaboration. There is clearly a continuum between speech style and language, just as there is between dialect and language. Starting with fluency in

a given speech style, other speech styles may be perfectly comprehensible, in semantico-referential terms, or they may be opaque in varying degrees, requiring considerable learning in their own right. Indeed, where in one culture we may find styles contextually distributed, in another we may find whole languages being so distributed. An interesting intermediate case is the Dyirbal "mother-in-law" code (Dixon 1972), to be discussed in more detail below (Section 5). Here we find a code variant in which the entire lexicon has been substituted, but the phonology, morphology, and syntax remain constant. The code is evidently intermediate between distinct style and distinct language.

It is by no means transparent that a given speech style is in fact a single entity. For the style is a cluster of specific linguistic features, e.g., characteristic vowel qualities, intonational patterns, syntactic constructions, and so forth. Each one of these factors may be in other styles as well. What distinguishes the speech style as a single entity, as a single sign vehicle, in the present terminology, is the functional specificity of the cluster, the fact that a given cluster of factors co-occurs regularly in connection with a specific social context or subject matter. Supplementarily, of course, the given cluster may be lexically labelled within the language itself. This is the case with the two Shokleng speech styles considered here.

In any case, the fact that linguistic features in a given style may also occur elsewhere means that the context indexed by the speech style can be related to other contexts and meanings. This is what makes the speech style such a richly complex signal, analyzable in terms of the third of the three functions mentioned above. This will be the principal focus of Section 4 below.

For summary purposes, then, a "speech style" may be defined as a code variant of a language, consisting of a functionally-specific set of linguistic characteristics (phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and/or lexical), distinct from other such functionally-specific code variants of that language, wherein the variants constitute alternatives within the repertoire of individuals.

It is important to observe that speech styles can be characterized independently on the formal and functional planes. Thus, Havranek (1964), in his paper "The Functional Differentiation of the Standard Language," gives an account of speech style variants based solely on function. Alternatively, one could characterize the variants in purely formal terms, comparing and contrasting one with another. Joos, in his paper "The Isolation of Styles," inclines toward the formal side, but ends up mixing planes in his fivefold characterization of English styles: "intimate," "casual," "consultative," "formal," and "frozen" (Joos 1968: 188).

I suggest that speech styles, having been examined in formal and functional terms, can be compared with one another in terms of "markedness." This will facilitate the isolation of a specific subclass of speech styles, in relation to which an hypothesis can be formulated about the connection between form and function.

Two styles can be compared with one another, in functional terms, as if they were discrete forms, $style_1$ and $style_2$, just the way we can contrast two lexemes, $lexeme_1$ and $lexeme_2$, in terms of their functional scope. A classical example of semantic markedness in the lexicon is the contrast between "dog" and "bitch." The second form is used only if the semantic feature [+female] is indicated. The first

form, in contrast, is used in the absence of that feature specification, i.e., it can be used in reference to a male or female dog. We can refer to the functionally specific form ("bitch") in such cases as the marked member, and to the functionally non-specific member ("dog") of the contrast as the unmarked member. Such binary contrasts, wherein there is a marked and unmarked member, can be called, following Trubetzkoy (1939), cases of "privative" marking.

It is also possible for two lexical items to exhibit bipolar or "equipollent" marking when the items, while clearly related, nevertheless do not exhibit a functionally-specific/functionally non-specific contrast. An example is the contrast between "up" and "down."

Speech styles can be similarly compared in terms of functional markedness, although function here is not confined necessarily to semantico-referential scope. It can refer as well to, for example, the scope of the context in which the style is appropriate. From this point of view, it is possible, in considering two related styles, to discover whether they are "privatively" or "equipollently" marked, in functional terms. Thus, in the styles to which Joos (1968) refers, it is difficult to see functionally-specific/functionally non-specific contrasts, and we may think of the styles as equipollently marked.[4]

In many cases, however, there is a clear privative contrast between styles in functional terms, and we can refer to one style (the functionally non-specific one) as the "everyday code," and to the other as the special or "marked code." For example, the Dyirbal mother-in-law code (Dixon 1972) is evidently the marked code. It is the one for which we would naturally think of describing contexts of

use, as Dixon (1972: 32) does in stating that the mother-in-law code "HAD to be used in the presence of a parent-in-law, child-in-law or cross cousin of the opposite sex." The everyday code would be used in other, non-specified contexts. It is entirely possible that the majority of styles in so-called simple societies exhibit this marked/unmarked character.

In any case, the present paper will be concerned exclusively with that subclass of speech styles wherein privative marking is exhibited. The general hypothesis I want to put forward concerns just these cases.

Suppose that style$_1$ is related to style$_2$ as functionally unmarked (everyday code) to functionally marked (special code). Then I want to propose that there is going to be a consistent relationship between the styles themselves in terms of their constituent linguistic traits, namely, that:

1. style$_2$ is in terms of its formal devices for semantico-referential and/or pragmatic expression restricted with respect to style$_1$, with what is a variable in style$_1$ becoming a fixed value in style$_2$, e.g., style$_1$ may have a range of possible sentential intonation contours and style$_2$ just one such contour; and/or

2. style$_2$ may have with respect to style$_1$ a formally more complex signal, even though the functional value of that signal remains the same as the corresponding value in style$_1$, e.g., style$_2$ may have certain additional morphemes attached onto stems.

I will refer to these possibilities as "expressive restriction" and "formal amplification", respectively. The empirical hypothesis is that the direction of expressive restriction and formal amplification will everywhere be the same, from unmarked style (less restricted, less amplified) to marked style (more restricted, more amplified).

As regards expressive restriction, it is possible to make this hypothesis more specific. When we are dealing with the restriction of a pragmatic variable of the everyday code, the value selected will typically be a marked value within the everyday code itself. That is, the value will be a functionally specific one, e.g., if in the everyday code a pragmatic contrast exists between creaky and ordinary voice on vowels, where creaky is functionally restricted to the indexation of old age or crying, and ordinary is used for everything else, and, furthermore, if one of these values is to be selected for the special style, then it will be the marked (creaky) value that is employed. In some cases, however, it may be nearly impossible to assign a function to the linguistic value in the everyday code. The value may be simply a highly unusual one in the everyday code, e.g., a possible sentential intonation pattern, but one seldom actually encountered. In this case, pragmatic markedness may still be claimed, but on grounds of statistical frequency. Nevertheless, some positive pragmatic function should be sought before statistical markedness is invoked.

These hypotheses seem to follow naturally from the general conception of speech style as indexical signal. Where the style is marked, the purpose of the signal is to make the context or subject matter salient, to highlight it or make it stand out perceptually against the ordinary run of things. A listener takes note of it as

something special. One way to do this is to embellish the signal (formal amplification). Since the context and/or subject matter in which the style is used is delimited, however, it is also possible to reduce the expressive power of the code. In this latter case, highlighting is achieved by reducing the code in favor of a marked or unusual value of some variable.

I hope to show that there are additional, system-internal factors that motivate selection of particular values as well. However, it will be best to bring these factors out in the context of an actual empirical investigation (see Section 4).

3. THE TWO SPEECH STYLES

In Shokleng, probably the two most salient speech styles are ẽ̄ (“ritual wailing”) and the remarkable wãñẽklãn (“origin-myth telling”). These styles are salient for an outside observer, and salient as well in terms of what the Shokleng themselves consider it important for an outside observer to know. Hence, they are probably salient for the Shokleng themselves. It is for this reason that I have chosen them for analysis here. In this section, I consider each of the speech styles (its form and function) in isolation. In Section 4, I consider the relationship between these two styles, and between them and the broader linguistico-cultural system.

3.1 ẽ̄ (“Ritual Wailing”)

3.1.1 Function

It should be observed first that ẽ̄ is a culturally constituted speech style. It is not to be confused with crying, which in Shokleng

is given a separate lexical label (plal). While someone performing ɛ̃ɔ̃ may in fact be crying, this is not essencial. However, ɛ̃ɔ̃ clearly has something to do with the expression of emotion, and, in specific, with the expression of grief or sadness. It is for this reason that its form can be profitably compared with the more natural manifestation of grief and sadness in crying. As a speech style, ɛ̃ɔ̃ is a culturally constituted form, but it is one whose primary function is to display (for society or for oneself) that one is feeling grief or sadness.

It is not grief and sadness pure and simple that ɛ̃ɔ̃ expresses, however. It is grief and sadness specifically focussed on death, on the death of one's kinsmen and affine, and on how one feels as a result of that death. This is made apparent by an analysis of the semantico-referential content of ritual wailing texts themselves. The following is a translation of the basic ɛ̃ɔ̃ text I used for an analysis of form. It was performed in 1975 by a woman approximately 80 years of age:

1. I used to be in the midst of my male kinsmen, and now I am alone;
2. It seems to me that with my kinsmen I was at peace, and I cry for them and I am sick;
3. My brothers wanted me not to suffer, but now I suffer too much;
4. I do not have any more siblings to do thusly (as my brothers had done) and alone I suffer. Sometimes it seems that they are still alive, but even near them I suffer;

5. When my sister was suffering, I was healthy. I saw that she had forgotten me. I cannot forget her and I cry for her and I am sick;
6. Had I seen where she went, I would have gone with her. I cannot forget her and I cry for her and I am sick;
7. My brother would look for things for me (i.e., would go out hunting for me), and, when he saw something, he would bring it. He would come contentedly to where he had seen me, and I would be sitting there where he had seen me;
8. He seems to come toward me now, and I miss him and I am sick.

What is important for present purposes is that one can always predict, from a given instance of usage of the ritual wailing style, that the subject matter of the utterances will have something to do with death, specifically, the death of kinsmen and affines, and with how the speaker feels as a result of that death. That is, there is a co-occurrence relationship between form and semantico-referential content. Ritual wailing form indexes the presence of discourse about death. It is never used for anything else. Hence, from a functional perspective ekɔ̃ can be seen to be marked with respect to the "everyday code." Its primary function is to signal (1) the presence of semantico-referential content about death and feelings about death, and (2) a desire on the speaker's part to display feelings of sadness and grief.

As one would expect in connection with a marked form, the functions of the ekɔ̃ style can also be fulfilled by the unmarked form, i.e., by the everyday code. It is perfectly possible to talk about

death and to express feelings of sadness and grief without engaging in ritual wailing. However, when a speaker does employ the ꞵ̲ style, he is necessarily performing those communicative functions.

As regards other aspects of the social context of ꞵ̲ usage, there is no necessary association between ꞵ̲ and social category or spatio-temporal parameters. Both men and women engage in ritual wailing, and, while for obvious reasons ritual wailing is most prominent during the period immediately following an actual death, ꞵ̲ can be performed at almost any time. Thus, the text translated above is actually a lament for relatives long since dead and for times gone by. It is also, of course, a reflection of the confrontation between the speaker and her own death. There is a prohibition on the performance of ꞵ̲. A spouse in seclusion following a husband or wife's death should not engage in ritual wailing while actually in the seclusion camp, lest the spirit of the dead person discover the location of the camp. Aside from this rule, however, I have been able to find no other important contextual linkages.

3.1.2 Form

Ritual wailing is characterized at the sound level by the following:

1. A "sing-song" intonation pattern;
2. Creaky voice throughout;
3. "Broken" voice, i.e., rapid-fire glottal stops, coupled with intonational modulation, used intermittently on certain protracted vowels.

The last element is perhaps the least important characteristic of the style. When speakers narrate a text, in which they must play the part of someone ritually wailing, they very often pay no attention to broken voice. The crucial element, however, the intonational pattern, is always present.

The intonational pattern is one that acts generally over a stretch of about 20 syllables, give or take a few. Since there are, in the text analyzed, on average 2.78 syllables per second, this means that the intonational pattern acts over a period of some 7-8 seconds. Typically, the first few syllables of the intonational line are unstressed, and the pitch rises to a stressed and prolonged syllable or pair of syllables. This is the highest pitch in the intonation line; I will call it the "primary peak" (see Figs. 1 and 2). Pitch then decays for a few syllables and rises to a second peak, but this is lower than the first. This second peak may be followed by a third lower peak, and so forth. Toward the end of the line, the pitch tapers gradually, but there may be some abrupt inflection at the end. We may think of this as the basic ẽ̲ "intonation line".

The intonation line, however, must be distinguished from the "major pause line." It is this latter that is the basis for the lines in the text translated above, and it is this line that is the major thought unit. It consists of a set of clauses bound together through embeddings and connectives, and is perhaps the counterpart of our "sentence," though it is often difficult to translate a pause line at all satisfactorily with a single English sentence. The pause line runs from 20 to about 50 syllables in length. In the text translated above, the Shokleng lines are 22, 30, 19, 40, 45, 43, 41, and 21

syllables in length. A pause line always begins with a new intonational line. If the pause line is long, say 45 syllables in length, it will typically contain two full intonation lines, the initial pitch peaks of which are roughly the same in height. If the pause line is intermediate in length, say some 30-40 syllables, it will contain an initial complete intonation line, but this will be followed by another abbreviated intonation line, the first peak of which is lower than the first peak of the initial intonation line. The general intonation pattern thus seems to be this: a sing-song pattern with general downward drift of the intonation peaks; if the pause line is too long, a second downward drift is created, starting from a new intonation peak.

As regards other signal characteristics of the ritual wailing style, I thus far encountered no morphological or lexical differences with respect to the everyday code. However, the syntax is notably complex, and there seem to be stylistic rearrangements of constituent clauses that give one the sense of being in the presence of "elegant" speech. I find the ɛ̃ extremely difficult to understand, even on the second or third hearing, despite my reasonable fluency in the everyday code. This is due in part, no doubt, to phonetic interference, but it is also related to syntactic complexity.

While I have only a very limited number of good tape-recordings from which to judge, it nevertheless does not appear that the ɛ̃ texts are fixed or memorized verbatim. There seems to be at least some measure of individual creativity. However, certain elements do seem to occur with considerable frequency, e.g., the references to "suffering" and "being sick" at the ends of lines. Indeed, I have even found a whole line used with few modifications in two different texts. The texts are thus in some measure stereotyped,

but in just what measure is impossible to determine on the basis of present data.

Along these lines it should be noted that, while certain lexemes and phrases recur in the text, as is apparent even from the translation above, I have not been able to perceive any true parallelistic "poetic" structure at this level. The parallelism seems to be confined to the intonational line.

Figures 1 and 2 below illustrate the intonation pattern found in lines 1 and 3, respectively, of the text translated above. The vertical axis shows relative pitch, as I hear it, based upon repeated listenings to the taperecording at different speeds. The horizontal axis represents time in seconds, and this I have been able to give with considerable accuracy just by snipping and measuring tape, recorded at 7.5 inches per second. Each syllable was snipped and measured to an accuracy of about +/- .03 seconds. The first line below the graph is a close phonetic transcription, but without an indication of creaky voice, the latter being a constant feature. Below this I give a phonemic transcription, based on how my informant heard and understood the text. The phonemic transcription is accompanied by a word for word translation. Beneath the word for word translation is a free translation of the line.

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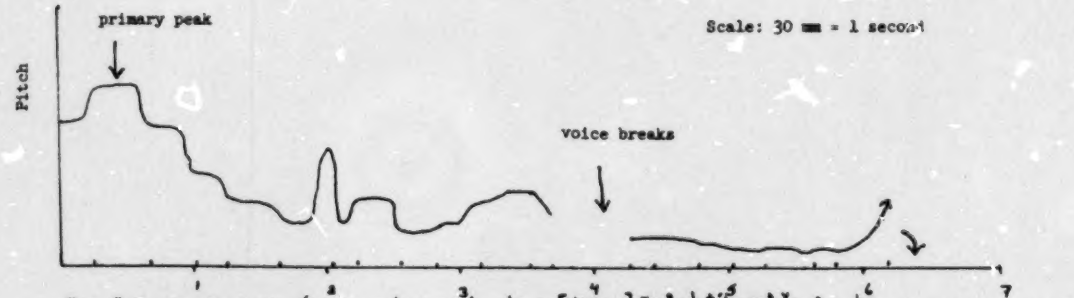
ɸñ kʰñka: tǫ: kǫ̃ŋ̇ɯŋ kaməŋ to: ka: nę: ɣɔ: ka: mɥ
my relative ergative man many amidst stay sit habitual past stay Ø

wɥ:ñ̌cu:ke: nę: yəŋ̇ya:ŋ
alone sit at once

I used to be in the midst of my male kinsmen, (and) now I am alone.

Fig. 1: dǭ Intonation Contour: Line 1



(ẹñ) ñuiñẹṇa tọ: ñọɪmɤtɔ:l kɯɯ: yɔgɤ: lɔ: mɨ ñọɪaɤtɤl yaɤya: ɟɛ ke:
my sibling ergative suffer fear very much conjuction I suffer at one habitual

My brothers wanted me not to suffer (feared for me to suffer), but now I suffer too much.

Fig. 2: dǭ Intonation Contour: Line 3

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3.2 wa̰ʔeklɛ̃n ("Origin-myth Telling")

3.2.1 Function

The style described by the verb wa̰ʔeklɛ̃n is used exclusively in telling the myth of origin of the Shokleng tribe. It therefore indexes this semantico-referential content, and it is clear that, in this, the style is functionally marked vis-à-vis the everyday code. As can be anticipated from markedness principles, the origin myth is also narrated in the everyday code.

A brief description of the content of this myth is in order. However, it is so massive and wonderously complex that any adequate treatment would require a special monograph. There are really four distinct, but overlapping, myths that make up the origin myth. The myth takes us from the beginning of the world, when men first emerged from a hole in the ground, until the historical period, when Shokleng moved into their present homeland in east-central Santa Catarina. In reality, the myth is a giant poem, with a complex parallelistic structure, based upon the repetition (with slight modifications) of units that are as much as a "paragraph" in length. There is also parallelism between the four distinct myths themselves. The first two myths have the same final portion, roughly one-third of the myth in length. The first and third myths have a very similar initial portion, with many of the lines identical. The four myths thus do not constitute a chronological development, but, at various points, represent alternative perspectives on the same or similar incidents. The entire myth takes about an hour to narrate in the everyday code, the text being memorized very nearly verbatim.

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To give some idea of content, the first myth divides into three major parts, dealing with (1) discovery of the world after emergence, (2) the making of the jaguar and tapir, and (3) the coming of the great war among the Indians, which led to their dispersion. The discovery part consists in turn of three major subsections, with most of their lines in common. Each subsection deals with a separate individual going forth into the world to discover something new. In the second section, there is parallelism between the making of the jaguar and that of the tapir. However, the making of the jaguar subsection is further divided into three subsubsections, displaying parallelism. The final section consists of a basic four subsections, but shows some additional intricate parallelisms. Each subsection tells of how certain individuals are angry because all of the marriageable women have been married off. It is for this reason they go to war. This myth takes about 20 minutes to recite in the everyday code.

The function of the wąñẽklãn style, however, goes beyond that of the highlighting of specific semantico-referential content. There are also contextual rules governing its use, viz., it is always used at the culmination of the ceremony for the dead, when the spouse of a dead person is returned from his or her seclusion camp to society (v. Urban 1978). That is, the style is, like ẽ̃, associated with death, a fact that will be considered subsequently. We may thus think of the wąñẽklãn style as having two primary functions: (1) indexation or highlighting of a specific semantico-referential content, viz., the origin myth, and (2) indexation or highlighting of a specific context, viz., the death ceremonies (or ąnyin).

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I am told that the wa[illegible]klān had as well a special "performative" function. It could be used to render safe the eating of certain tabooed foods, when other foods were not available. Unfortunately, I never actually witnessed such a performance, and so was unable to make any further observations.

Finally, it may be observed that the wa[illegible]klān is performed only by adult men, and it therefore sets apart that social tion, it appears that only some among the adult men actually performed it, but I was unable to discover what set apart this specific group.

3.2.2 Form

wa[illegible]klān is actually a performance, involving two men, who sit on the ground facing one another. One man begins by uttering the first syllable of the myth. The second echoes this syllable. The first man then utters the second syllable and so on, with the myth being "told" syllable by syllable, and being reflected or echoed back by the second performer. The syllables appear in rapid-fire succession and the overall effect is acoustically stunning. As a syllable is being uttered, the speaker leans forward, then leans back while his partner echoes him, and so forth, so that the performers rock back and forth in time to the metered out syllables.

From a purely linguistic point of view, the key sound-level characteristics of this style are:

1. Metering of syllables, with the consequent disappearance of all pause boundaries at all levels;

2. Equal stress on syllables, resulting in the disappearance of contrastive stress as a marker of words and phrases;
3. A constant intonation level, i.e., no pitch changes;
4. Articulation of all syllables with extremely constricted pharynx;
5. Abrupt diaphragmatic explosion on each syllable, with the syllable being articulated with unusual force.

One key consequence of syllable metering is that the wąñęklēn seems to obliterate what is a phonemic length contrast in the everyday code, where there are minimal pairs such as klę ("head") versus klę̄ ("mountain"). A study of actual syllable lengths, by means of tape snipping, as described above, shows that all syllables tend to cluster around a length of .30 seconds. Figure 3 shows a portion of one wąñęklēn performance. The shortest syllable in this sample was .25 seconds and the longest .35 seconds. In Figure 4, the same line is shown, but this time in the context of a simple narration of the origin myth, not in the special wąñęklēn style. Neither of the performers of the Figure 3 text, incidentally, was even present at the narration shown in Figure 4, and yet the two texts correspond very closely; this shows that we are dealing with nearly verbatim memorization. In any case, the shortest syllable in the Figure 4 sample is .12 seconds and the longest .37 seconds, a considerably greater range than what we find in Figure 3. Phonemically, the initial phrase katęle ñą: involves in simple narration three short syllables followed by a long syllable (measured at .20, .17, .17, and .35 seconds respectively). In the wąñęklēn style text, the syllables were nearly uniformly long, all

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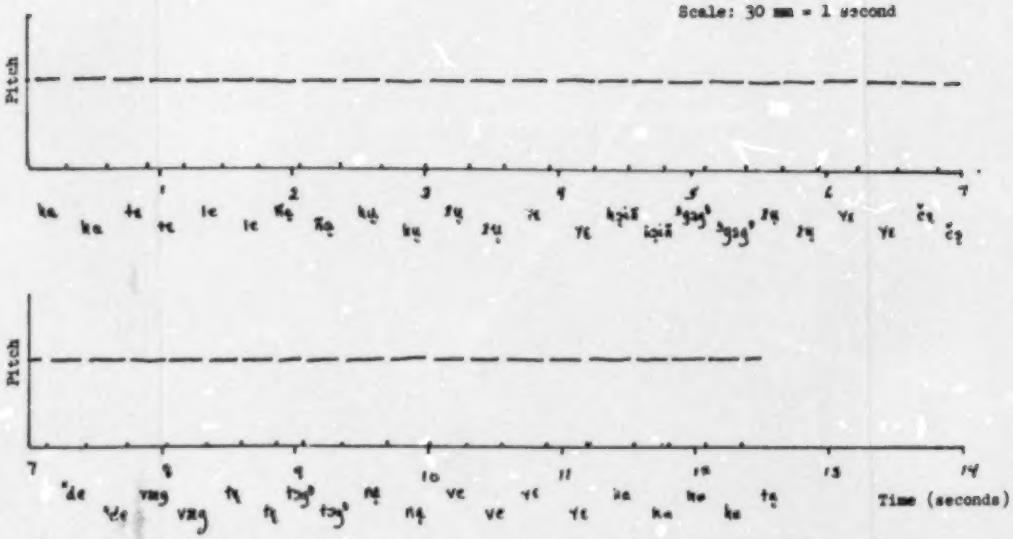
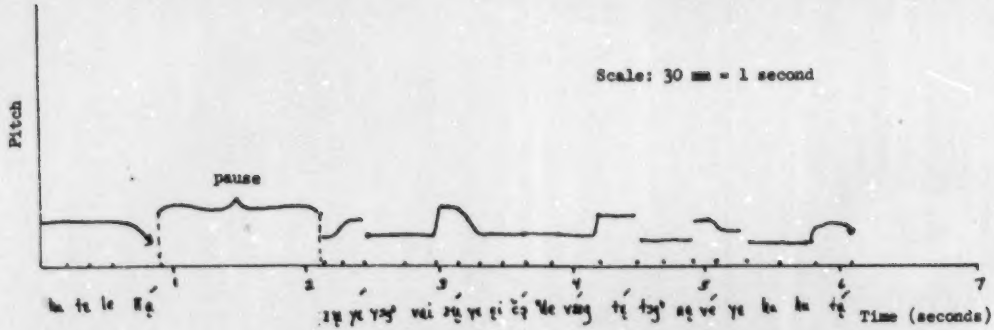


...kat‹le ɬą: kų ʔų yɾ kǫ̃ŋ̍ɣŋ̍ ʔų yr (ǫ̃ã) cǫ:
come descending continuative conjunction someone future man someone future I ergative

ne vɾ:ɣ tą: tɔŋ nę: we yr: ka:ku:tą:
something see+active go (imperfective) this see+stative purposive come down

... came descending and (said), " who, among you men, will come down to see this thi-g I have beheld?"

Fig. 3: Sample of wañ̍ɬkĺ̃n Style



...kat$_{\text{ɛ}}$le nɑ: ɪu̯ yɛ yɔ:ɣwa:ñ̃ ɪu̯ yɛ čo̯ ne
come descending continuative someone future chief someone future ergative something

vɛ:ɔ̯ tɑ: tɔ̯ nɑ̨ we yɛ: ka:ku:ta:
see+active go (imperfective) this see+stative purposive come down

...came descending. "Who, among you chiefs, will come down to see this thing I have beheld?"

Fig. 4: Simple Narration of Origin Myth
(cf. Figure 3)

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between .27 and .30 seconds. We thus seem to have "expressive reduction" here on the semantic plane.

Similarly, there is "expressive reduction" on the pragmatic plane in at least three areas. First, owing to the metering of syllables, there is no pause structure, and it is primarily by means of pauses that one determines, in everyday discourse, the boundaries of sentence-like units. Second, the equality of stress effectively eliminates stress as a device for demarcating word and phrase boundaries, which in the everyday code receive a characteristic final stress. Finally, because of the constancy of pitch, the cues for distinguishing, e.g., declarative, interrogative, and imperative constructions, as well as word and phrase boundaries, are all obliterated. Since there is no intonation "contour," it is not even possible to divide the text into formally parallel units, as happens in ritual wailing. The overall effect is to make the waɸɛklān extremely difficult to follow for one not already familiar with the origin myth as told in everyday style. When rendered in this style, the text takes on a certain luminosity, just because one has to make considerable effort just to understand it.

Along these lines, it is possible to consider the waɸɛklān, in relation to everyday discourse, in terms of production of text. Analysis of an extended sample of waɸɛklān shows that each speaker is producing syllables at a rate of 1.37 per second, and this may be considered the rate of "text production." It is almost precisely one-half the rate of production of text in ritual wailing and in everyday speech (2.78 per second, for the samples studied). While the rate of text production is one-half that of everyday speech, the rate of "syllable production", because there are two speakers and each syllable is

repeated, is the same as in everyday speech. In other words, the two speakers together produce syllables as if they were one speaker, a fact of possible significance in the "iconic" interpretation of this style (see Section 4 below).

Some lexical and syntactic characteristics as well differentiate the waⁿēklīn style from everyday discourse. Sentences, in particular, tend toward grammatical complexity. The sentence illustrated in Figures 3 and 4 is typical of this "elaborate" style: "who, among you chiefs/men, will come down to see what it is that I have beheld." The repeated subject and use of an indirectly referring relative clause to describe the object ("what it is that I have beheld") are not typical of everyday speech. The entire construction could obviously be replaced with something much simpler, which would have an equivalent semantic content, e.g., "who wants to see something," or "who wants to see what I have found." In addition, however, this construction contains certain markers with which I am not familiar from the everyday code, viz., the ne form following the embedded relative clause mentioned above. It could be that we are dealing with some archaic, or simply variant, aspect of the syntax.

Lexical differences with respect to the everyday code are summarized in Table 1 below. The lexical differences I have discovered thus far are of three basic sorts. In one set, labelled Type A in Table 1, there are alternative forms used in the waⁿēklīn and in everyday speech, the contexts being non-interchangeable. In a second set, labelled Type B, both the everyday item and the waⁿēklīn item are used in the origin myth, in apparently free variation, but the waⁿēklīn item is never, insofar as I could determine, used in everyday

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Table 1: Some Lexical Differences between Everyday Code and wąñęklą̄n

wąñęklą̄n Item	Everyday Item	Translation	Type of Variation
1. kų̃ñ̃ǫ̃	tʂ tã̄ŋ	"young girl"	A
2. wą̃mǫ̃hẽ̃	kake	"friend"	A
3. yʒ̃ŋwãñ̃	pa?i	"chief"	A
4. ʤʌʊ̃ŋʤʃ̃l	kū̃l	"blanket used as skirt by women"	B
5. ʤʌklą̃l	kutẽ̃	"forest"	B
6. węęyʒ̃	kɔ̃ñ̃kã̃	"relative"	B
7. ʤ̃ñkẽ̃	pę	"fire"	C

speech. In the third "set" (I have discovered thus far only one item), labelled Type C, both items occur in free variation in the waÑëklān and also in the everyday code, but in the everyday code only in the speech of elders.

It is important to note that in every case the waÑëklān item is regarded by native speakers as "ancient" or archaic, and younger speakers, when they hear an older speaker use the special term for fire, may give some acknowledgement that the term is "ancient." There is as yet no reconstructional evidence to show that these lexical items do in fact originate from a previous phase in the language's history, but neither is this possibility ruled out.

Regarding the semiotic nature of the variation, Type A involves simple replacement of forms, without "expressive reduction." An example of such replacement with expressive reduction is given below (see Section 5). In Type B variation, there are alternative forms which apparently do not differ in their semantico-referential content, i.e., there is no increase in the semantic delicacy or expressive power of the code, so that the principle of expressive reduction is not violated. The same is true of Type C variation, but in addition the waÑëklān term has an indexical meaning deriving from its use in the everyday code, viz., it indexes elderhood. Variation of Types B and C does not affect expressive power on the pragmatic or semantic planes. However, such variation is an instance of signal amplification. This is most precisely true of Type B variation, since Type C variation also involves social indexical meaning. In the case of Type B variation, we have a more elaborate sign vehicle for the same semantic function, just as if we were to add an additional morpheme onto the forms to differentiate them from the everyday forms.

The lexical variation I have discovered thus far is not extensive, and it is possible to overestimate its significance. Certainly, we are not dealing with anything approaching in significance the variation found in the Dyirbal mother-in-law code. However, it is important that the lexical variation, along with the syntactic and phonetic variation discussed earlier, conforms to the general principles of expressive reduction and signal amplification. In all types of lexical variation, there is no increase in semantic delicacy, such as might contradict the principle of expressive reduction, formulated primarily for the phonetic-phonological plane. In Types B and C, there is a kind of formal amplification, and in Type C there is arguably a minor reduction in pragmatic delicacy, the oscillation characteristic just of elder's speech being used in the wa·ŋeklīn style.

3.3 Markedness

The formal characteristics of Shokleng ritual wailing and origin-myth telling can be grouped into two general classes, according as they seem to fall under the principle of (1) expressive restriction (all sound characteristics fall here), or (2) formal amplification (lexical differences and syntactic complexity fall here). Concerning the former, I wish to attempt to establish that the characteristics of these styles are possible values of variables in the everyday code. The speech style is "restricted" by virtue of fixing the variable on just one value. Furthermore, I wish to argue that the values chosen are "marked," i.e., functionally specific, within the everyday code itself.

This is perhaps most readily apparent in the case of creaky and "broken" voice, characteristics of the ritual wailing style. Both occur as pragmatic alternatives to ordinary voice in the everyday code. Thus, creaky voice, in the everyday code, has the specific function of indexing old age and/or those emotions that may result in crying, while ordinary voice is used for everything else. Creaky is thus the marked value. The same can be said of broken voice, which, in the everyday code, is associated with the intense, nearly hysterical, feelings of grief.

Similar arguments can be made for the articulation of syllables with constricted pharynx and abrupt diaphramic explosion, both characteristics of the origin-myth telling style. These values stand as pragmatically marked with respect to the non-exploded, non-constricted variants. They seem to signal a gruff, aggressive posture on the part of the speaker, as when yelling at a dog. The exploded, constricted values also occur in what may be a separate political oratory style, used when the chief is speaking in the men's council, and also, apparently, when trekking groups met up with one another after a prolonged time and it was unclear whether the groups were still on friendly terms. The style is imitated in the narratives describing these events. Since men in this culture are expected to be bold and aggressive, it is appropriate that phonetic values mark them as such.

Regarding the other three sound-level characteristics of the <u>wakëklãn</u> style -- syllable metering, equi-stress, and flat intonation — I was initially at a loss to discover any counterpart in the everyday code. As it happens, however, these values occur frequently in an everyday context with which I am intimately familiar, namely,

they are used in the course of teaching something that must be learned verbatim, as their own language to a foreign anthropologist. The teacher speaks a syllable, then has the pupil repeat it; then he speaks another, and so forth. The values are thus clearly functionally specific and hence marked.

This discovery provides a ready-made hypothesis about the origin of the waŋ@klīn style. The text is frozen and must be memorized word for word, as we say, or more correctly, syllable for syllable. Traditionally, the myth was taught by the mature men to the young boys about to become men. In specially constructed huts, night after night, the elders would go over these texts with the boys, until the boys had learned them by heart. One can readily imagine that it was in the context of just such "teaching" that the highly distinctive waŋ@klīn took shape, that it became itself recognized as a style and was later transported into the ceremonial arena. This hypothesis makes sense out of something that is otherwise inexplicable.

Whatever the status of this hypothesis, the problem of intonation in the ritual wailing style is by no means so easily resolved. I could discover no special intonation pattern, functionally specific in the everyday code, that corresponds with the ritual wailing intonation contour.

It is possible, however, to break this contour into two distinct features: (1) exaggerated "sing-song" pitch oscillation between peaks and troughs, and (2) a general downward slope of pitch. Each of these characteristics does occur in the everyday code. Wild pitch oscillation is regularly associated with an emotionally excited state, regardless of the source of that excitation. The speaker

communicates by means of it his emotional involvement in the subject. It contrasts with normal oscillation, which is unmarked for emotional involvement. Similarly, downward sloping intonation is typically associated with sadness or depression. Normal intonation does not show a general downward trend, but rises at points of stress and typically slopes elsewhere (compare Figs. 1 and 2 with Fig. 4). In any case, if one conceptualizes ꝺ͡ꝺ intonation as a combination of these two features, it can be related to the everyday code and seen, moreover, as the selection of certain pragmatically marked values from what are variables in the everyday code.

Expressive restriction is not necessarily confined to pragmatic values, nor is the selection of a pragmatically marked value necessarily confined to the sound level. The Dyirbal example below (Section 5) involves a clear case of lexical reduction, and hence of expressive restriction on the semantic plane. Importantly, however, some of the Shokleng sound-level restrictions may be semantic as well. The origin-myth telling style, through its metering of syllables, seems effectively to eliminate length contrasts. If so, the effect is expressive reduction on the semantic plane.

As regards the use of pragmatically marked values on other than the sound level, one can cite some of the lexical oscillations in the waꝰklãn. It was pointed out above that a few words, such as ʻiat for "fire," have a variant used only by elders, and that elders typically oscillate between the alternative usages. This same oscillation is found in the origin-myth text. That is, the oscillation is a pragmatically marked variant outside of the waꝰklãn, and it is made use of as well in the waꝰklãn.

It should be noted that formal amplification itself involves a notion of "markedness," albeit of a slightly different sort. Marked versus unmarked here means the presence versus absence or greater versus lesser complexity of the sign vehicle. I have argued that syntactic complexity can be treated in terms of this formal notion of markedness, that syntactically complex constructions are "marked," when there is an equivalent simpler construction, and that the speech styles considered here, ritual wailing and origin-myth telling, make use consistently of these marked variants. Indeed, in some cases at least, such as the Dyirbal case considered below (Section 5), there is even a direct connection between expressive reduction (in the lexicon) and formal amplification (syntactic complexity).

It is worth pointing out here, however, that syntactic complexity may have an indexical value apart from these formal markedness considerations. Specifically, since adults use syntactically more complex constructions than do children, extreme syntactic complexity stands at the far pole of a continuum of cognitive development from extreme syntactic simplicity, in the limiting case, monolexemic utterances. As it happens, these considerations are of some relevance to understanding the position of the wangklan within the larger linguistico-cultural system. For there is another style, similar to the wangklan, but opposed to it by virtue of its extreme syntactic simplicity.

4. THE LINGUISTICO-CULTURAL MATRIX

From a system-internal point of view, it is insufficient to leave the analysis at the level of establishing that the features characterizing speech styles are marked values of variables in the everyday code. Evidently, the selection of values in at least some cases is not random. This is perhaps most obvious in connection with ritual wailing. The choice of features here is transparently motivated. Features are chosen that are in the everyday code, e.g., the emotions that lead to crying. We do not find features that in the everyday code index gruffness or an aggressive attitude, even though this would satisfy markedness requirements.

The general principle seems to be this: features are chosen whose indexical meaning in the everyday code or elsewhere is appropriate to the overall indexical function of the speech style as sign vehicle. Through its constituent characteristics, the speech style becomes a cluster of icons through which one looks out at the larger linguistico-cultural system, and draws the indexically relevant meanings to bear on the present case. Thus, the constituent features of the [illegible] style all contribute to its indexing a desire to express feelings of sadness and grief about death.

While in the case of ritual wailing this seems an obvious hypothesis, it is by no means transparently relevant to the origin-myth telling style. What do such indexical meanings of the constituent features as elderhood, aggressiveness and masculinity, and situations of learning have to do with overall function of indexing the myth of origin and ceremonies for the dead? The hypothesis suggests that we

look for answers, that those constituent meanings are somehow relevant to the overall meanings.

To answer the question, one is led inevitably into the broader linguistico-cultural matrix, and, eventually, into the Central Brazilian comparative scene. Shokleng culture, as I have argued elsewhere (Urban 1978), is a system that can be characterized in terms of death and "replacement" (or making children into cultural beings during their post-infancy phase). This conceptualization is a characterization of the social organization and also of the ceremonial emphases. In Shokleng culture, the principal ceremonies are for the dead, actually to reintegrate into society a spouse following his/her seclusion after the death of a wife/husband, and for giving lip-plugs to infant boys and thigh-tattoos to infant girls.

Such a system can be contrasted with that of the Gê relatives of the Shokleng, located further north on the Central Brazilian plateau. In these societies, a good example of which is the Akwẽ-Shavante (Maybury-Lewis 1967), the system may be better characterized as "initiation" based. Primary social organizational and ceremonial emphasis is upon making young boys into men during adolescence. Indeed, we can think of culture, in such a system, as being passed from post-initiate to pre-initiate. Similarly, among Shokleng, culture is seen as being passed from dead to living. Thus, whereas among Shavante names pass from post-initiate to pre-initiate, among Shokleng names pass from dead to living.

Now in Shokleng it is no accident that the origin myth is narrated at ceremonies connected with death. The myth is, afterall, an important part of the culture, and, moreover, it recounts the deeds

of the ancestors, i.e., of kinsmen now dead. So we may expect the constituent features of the speech style to convey something about the transmission of culture. This is precisely what I suggest they do.

Most obvious in this regard is the choice of features iconic with the "learning" style. Through iconicity with learning in the everyday code, the speech style seems to be pointing to the fact that the narration of the origin myth *is* the transmission of culture, i.e., it is learning. The past deeds of the ancestors are being brought into the present and passed on into the future. It is as if the speech style served as metapragmatic commentary on the narration of the origin myth itself.

Simultaneously, the choice of features indexing gruffness and aggressiveness are relevant. Shokleng men should be gruff and aggressive. This is the way the ancestors were. Even in the narration of the origin myth itself these qualities are present. So, simultaneously as culture is being transmitted, those who are transmitting it act the part. They embody tradition.

The *waʔõklẽn* speech style is such an enormously rich sign vehicle that its meanings reach out everywhere into the linguistico-cultural system. It is of considerable interest that there is a style reminiscent of the *waʔõklẽn* in the ceremonies connected with replacement, i.e., with the giving of lip-plugs and thigh-tattoos to children of around 1-3 years. In this case, the ritual style is called *ʔa han* (lit., "your making"). Two groups of men stand in line opposite one another. The men in one line utter in unison a monosyllabic word such as *til* ("tick"). This is repeated by the men in the second line, then again by those in the first line, and so forth

for several rounds, after which both lines repeat in unison a short refrain. In this respect it is like the origin-myth telling style, except that it involves only isolated, monosyllabic words lacking syntax.

Evidently the two styles are iconic with one another; they look out at one another and in so doing comment about their relevant contexts, i.e., about death and replacement. The two go together, are sides of a coin. However, they a[illegible]learly distinct. In the wa[illegible]klān we find a syntax and narrative remarkable for their complexity, indexing the height of cognitive development and the greatest elaboration of Shokleng culture. In the ja han we have the simplest monosyllabic lexemic utterances, with no syntax at all, indexing the earliest phase of child development in which there is recognizable evidence of culture. Of course, it is in the chasm between these two phases that lies the life of the average, cultured Shokleng.

The significance of the wa[illegible]klān style as icon does not stop here. While it would be inappropriate in this article to follow every pathway that leads out from this remarkably rich sign vehicle, it is nevertheless necessary minimally to point out one final connection, viz., that between the dualism of the style and the dualism of the socio-political system, based as it is on binary factionalism. The style seems to embody the meta-comment that dualism is intrinsic to the passage of culture itself, whether at the level of adult to child, or at the level of dead to living. Here is it relevant to bring in an observation made earlier, viz., that the rate of production of syllables of the two speakeru is equal to the normal rate of production of syllables by a single speaker. In other words, in this

respect at least, two equals one; dualism is a form of unification.

The general hypothesis has been put forth that speech styles serve the indexical function of highlighting subject matter and/or social context. In this regard, it is interesting that ritual wailing and origin-myth telling, two of the most prominent Shokleng speech styles, are both related to death, which is a key focus of the broader cultural system. This suggests a corresponding hypothesis, viz., that the contexts and subject matters most focal in a given cultural system will be those highlighted by the most salient speech styles.

This hypothesis can be formulated specifically in terms of the Central Brazilian case. If the Shavante system is initiation focussed, in contrast with the death-replacement focus of the Shokleng system, then we should expect the most salient speech styles to be associated with initiation. While there is as yet almost no information available on speech styles in Amerindian Central Brazil, Laura R. Graham (personal communication), who has recently been engaged in ethnography of speaking research among the Shavante, supplies some possibly confirmatory, and, in any case, certainly suggestive, observations.

Two highly salient speech styles in Shavante are: (1) ritual wailing, albeit in a form different from that found among the Shokleng, and (2) the so-called "ʔaʔamg language," a code variant based upon lexical substitution in a manner possibly analogous to the Dyirbal mother-in-law code. The latter is spoken by a ritual specialist known as the ʔaʔamg. Now it is especially suggestive that the ʔaʔamg's principal function is as spokesman for the initiates in the men's

council, where the initiates are not otherwise represented. It is possible that this special "language" highlights the special status of the initiates with respect to society. It is confirmatory as well that the ʔaʔama engages in ritual wailing for the boys when they perform certain tasks for him. This is a distinct kind of wailing, and there is also wailing for the dead. However, among Shokleng there is no such wailing for initiates; wailing is exclusively for the dead. Moreover, in Shavante, there is also a ritual in which grandmothers wail for their grandsons, because the latter are in spiritual danger during their transition to adulthood. So these two styles, in any case, have a close association with the initiation phase.

It is clear that the present hypothesis requires much more careful comparison and internal system analysis. However, if the Shokleng case is at all typical, we can suspect that speech styles, as richly complex sign vehicles, provide an important perspective on the linguistico-cultural systems in which they are embedded. For this reason, it should not be surprising that they are associated with the nodal points of the cultural system itself.

5. THE DYIRBAL "MOTHER-IN-LAW CODE"

Reference has already been made to the special code used among the Dyirbal of North Queensland, Australia, as described by R.M.W. Dixon (1972). The code is clearly functionally restricted: it must be used in the presence of a parent-in-law, child-in-law, or cross cousin of the opposite sex. Use was also possible in the presence of relatives of the same sex in these categories, but was not obligatory.

There is no evidence as to whether the code might also have been restricted in semantico-referential terms, i.e., whether there were certain subjects one should or should not broach in the presence of these relatives. However, it is important that the code was never used in other than these contexts.[5]

This code is of special interest here, because it shows the principle of expressive restriction, but on the semantic rather than pragmatic plane. All cases discussed in connection with Shokleng, with possible exception of the obliteration of phonemic length distinctions, had to do with pragmatic (indexical) variants of the basic code. The Dyirbal case, however, is one of genuine semantic reduction.

The mother-in-law code (Dyalguy) has the same grammar as the everyday code (Guwal), i.e., the same phonology, morphology, and syntax, with all "grammatical words", such as pronouns and noun class markers, being identical. However, all of the open word classes in the lexicon, i.e., nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and time qualifiers, have entirely different forms in the two codes. There is not a single lexical item held in common between the two. This means that the code is intermediate between distinct style and distinct language, as mentioned earlier.

Of interest in the present context, however, is that there is a decided "expressive restriction" at the semantic plane in the lexicon. Dyalguy has only about one-fourth as many lexical items as the everyday code. From the point of view of lexical semantics, the mother-in-law code has clearly less expressive power, just the way the special Shokleng speech styles had less expressive power, but from a pragmatic point of view.

The question is whether there are general principles of semantic restriction operative here that are analogous to the principle of pragmatic restriction discussed earlier. In the latter case, it appears to be the "marked" (functionally specific) value of a variable in the everyday code that is chosen as a means of making the special speech style salient. Is there an analogous principle operative in the lexicon?

In fact, the relationship between Dyalŋuy and Guwal is an extremely complex one, a state of affairs probably related to the difficulty in applying the concept of "binary privative marking" to an entire lexicon. However, the word class of verbs does present a suitable case for studying just such marking relations. Here Dixon (1972: 293 ff.) makes a distinction between "nuclear" and "non-nuclear" verbs. A given nuclear verb has a set of non-nuclear verbs associated with it, and each of the latter can be defined in terms of the nuclear verb. The distinction may thus be cast in terms of markedness, where the nuclear item is "unmarked," i.e., expresses the basic meaning, and the non-nuclear items "marked," i.e., they express the basic meaning plus something additional, just the way "bitch" can be specified as "female dog."

The relationship between mother-in-law and everyday code is such that a single Dyalŋuy verb corresponds to a whole class (nuclear plus non-nuclear) of Guwal verbs. This is the basis of the reduction in the verbal lexicon. When one asks for a translation of the Dyalŋuy verb, however, informants invariably give only the nuclear equivalent in the everyday code. This means that restriction proceeds in such a way that it is the unmarked lexeme that is represented in the special code. If this relationship proves more general for the

semantic plane, we could see the principle of semantic markedness as just the opposite of the principle of pragmatic markedness. In pragmatic restriction, the special code makes use of the marked value of an everyday variable; in semantic restriction, it makes use of the unmarked value.

The marked/unmarked relationship within a set of nuclear plus non-nuclear verbs, in Dyirbal, is confirmed by further internal analysis. When one needs to specify, in Dyalŋuy, that the verb in question has a non-nuclear meaning, the Dyalŋuy verb is used together with modifiers. Thus, in the everyday code there is a nuclear term bural ("look at, see") and a non-nuclear term rugal ("watch [someone] going"). The single corresponding mother-in-law term is nuriman, which translates the nuclear Guwal term. If one wishes to specify the meaning rugal when speaking Dyalŋuy, one has to use the syntactically complex construction nuriman yalugalumban bawalbingu (Dixon 1972: 295), "look out in front at [someone] who is going."

This raises a further issue, viz., that there is a relationship between lexical expressive reduction and syntactic complexity that is of a necessary sort. Where the same semantic delicacy is required, lexical reduction implies an increase in syntactic complexity. Furthermore, syntactic complexity, as I argued earlier, is associated with formal amplification. There is thus at least in this area a necessary connection between expressive reduction (the fixing of what are variable features in the everyday code) and formal amplification (the addition of extra formal "marks" on the sign vehicle).

That speech styles should display lexical reduction with respect to the everyday code seems, at first glance, counterintuitive.

In the technical subcodes of English, e.g., those used by fishermen, or by chemists, or by tennis players, we find not lexical reduction but rather lexical expansion. Those subcodes furnish a more delicate set of discriminations for talking about given functional areas. Furthermore, for those not familiar with the subcode, users must give syntactically complex glosses in the everyday code, i.e., they must create formally amplified or marked constructions in the everyday code, just the opposite of what the present hypothesis predicts we should expect.

A more careful look, however, suggests that these subcodes do not actually constitute "speech styles" in the present sense. Most importantly, they do not exhibit the essential feature of being alternative variants within the "repertoire of individuals." It is necessary to the existence of these codes that they be associated with given subgroups of the population. If they were not, their vocabulary would be simply a part of the vocabulary of the everyday code. The existence of such subgroups is in no way essential to the subcodes considered above. Ritual wailing, origin-myth telling, and the mother-in-law code would be code variants even if they were employed by every member of the society. We may thus think of technical subcodes as "functional dialects," because, like dialects, they are related to specific subgroups of users, but in this case the subgroup is defined by common interest in the specific function to which the subcode is put.

This raises another issue of some theoretical significance. I have suggested that speech styles serve a saliency-creating function with respect to contexts and/or subject matters. If this is true, then lexical reduction or expansion per se is not an acceptable device

for use in speech styles, for it has very little surface manifestation, i.e., it does not constitute a distinct sign vehicle. In the case of lexical reduction, there is some manifestation, since it will necessarily co-occur with heightened syntactic complexity. In the case of lexical expansion, however, insofar as all participants have competence in the code, there is no necessary surface manifestation at all.

This means that insofar as the lexicon is used to create a distinct speech style, actual lexical substitution, such as we find in the Dyirbal or Shavante case, must be involved. The style will be distinctive insofar as its lexical items (or the semantic values of those lexical items in the everyday code) are associated with distinct forms. The lexicon in this respect can be contrasted with the phonetic creation of a speech style. Whereas phonetic variance will appear over all stretches of discourse, lexical differences, based on the use of alternative surface forms, will only appear when just those semantic values are present. To make lexical variation as salient as phonetic variation, therefore, it is necessary to replace the entire lexicon with distinct forms. This is, of course, precisely what we find in the Dyirbal, and possibly also in the Shavante, cases.

6. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been to bring the problem of speech styles, in particular two Shokleng speech styles, into some theoretical focus by means of a functional semiotic approach. I have been concerned specifically with a subclass of speech styles which can be considered "marked" vis-a-vis an everyday code, i.e., styles that are functionally specific.

From the close analysis of a few examples, coupled with some general reasoning about the semiotic nature of language, I have argued that there are certain formal-functional regularities in the relation between the special speech style and the everyday code, which I have summed up under the two principles of: (1) expressive restriction, and (2) formal amplification. The Shokleng speech styles make use principally of pragmatic (non-semantic) features, taking the marked value of some pragmatic variable in the everyday code and fixing it in the speech style.

For the semantic plane, the principal example cited has been the Dyirbal mother-in-law code, although there is also in Shokleng phonemic length neutralization. However, only in Dyirbal do we find expressive restriction in the lexicon. While the lexical relations between the code variants is complex, where binary privative marking can be established in the everyday code, it is the unmarked member that gets translated into the special mother-in-law code. This is the reverse of the pragmatic marking situation, but one expectable on other grounds.

Formal amplification is an alternative kind of "marking," that may be correlated generally with functional marking, but is here treated as independent. The question of amplification comes down to having extra sign vehicle material to express the same degree of semantic delicacy. In Dyirbal, this shows up in a complicated syntax, which can be traced to the expressive (lexical) reduction in the mother-in-law code. In Shokleng, we find syntactic complexity, but this is not correlated in any way with lexical reduction. In the lexicon, however, amplification shows up in the alternating use of semantically equivalent lexical forms.

A primary purpose of this paper has been to consider the formal-functional linkage between speech style and everyday code in these terms. However, I have also been concerned with the "role" of the speech style within its linguistico-cultural matrix in two senses. First, I have argued that the speech style is an "index" serving a highlighting or saliency-creating function. It draws attention to itself vis-à-vis the everyday style by virtue of its odd use of intonation, voice quality, or lexical forms. This view of speech styles suggests a hypothesis, which I have formulated specifically for the Central Brazilian case, but which may have more general relevance, viz., that speech styles tend to occur in connection with contexts or subject matters that are areas of cultural emphasis.

Related to this point, however, I have argued, second, that speech styles are also complex "icons." Because speech styles frequently make use of marked values of linguistic variables from the everyday code, they invite comparison between the functions of those values and the function of the speech style itself. That is, by virtue of similarity at the sign vehicle level, speech styles serve to relate together diverse parts of the linguistico-cultural system, bringing them to bear on a single context/subject matter. The speech style is an enormously rich sign vehicle, with possible iconic meanings leading off in various directions. Simultaneously, however, it serves to pull together or bring into focus those diverse regions of the system to which it leads.

I hope to have shown something of the possibilities of using a semiotic approach to study speech styles. We really know as yet surprisingly little about the functions of these entities construed

as sign vehicles, though we have a number of good descriptions of their forms.[6] Even the preliminary investigation reported here, however, shows that speech styles are far from random or fortuitous "deviations" from an everyday code. When considered in terms of formal-functional linkage, striking regularities in their constitution emerge. Moreover, even the minute details of their form appear as motivated when their role as complex icons is considered. Despite the normal submersion of the meaning of speech styles beneath the surface of consciousness, the data and analyses presented here suggest that speech styles are indeed culturally-constituted signals, that they play a role in the creation and transmission of culture, and that, along with other signals, they make possible the "semiotic mediation" by means of which the world, and, in this case, especially the culture itself, is brought into intellectual and emotional focus.

FOOTNOTES*

*Regarding the diacritics used in transcriptions, it should be noted that [̨] beneath a vowel indicates nasalization. "Long" quantity is indicated by one of two methods: (1) a line over the lengethened vowel, e.g., [ā], or (2) a colon after the vowel, e.g., [a:]

1

Also known as "Xokleng," from which the present name is anglicized, "Kaingang of Santa Catarina" (Henry 1941), "Botocudo of Santa Catarina," and "Aweikoma." Shokleng is a member of the Gê language family. There are some 300 to 400 surviving speakers of Shokleng, concentrated today principally on the government reservation near Ibirama, in the southern Brazilian state of Santa Catarina.

All data on Shokleng used in this paper were collected by the author during two field stays: (1) a total of 15 months over a two-year period from 1974 to 1976, and (2) a total of 6 months over a 9 month period from October 1981 to June 1982. Research during the first period was funded by a grant from the Doherty Foundation Program in Latin American Studies. Research during the second period was assisted by a grant from the Joint Committee on Latin America and the Caribbean of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, by a grant from Univerrity Research Institute of the University of Texas at Austin, and by a summer grant administered through the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas at Austin from funds granted to the Institute by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. I gratefully acknowledge the help of these institutions.

2

I choose Silverstein's scheme here because it is the most developed, although the basic ideas behind, e.g., Hymes' (1974) work are in essence the same. Thus, Hymes (1974:435-439) distinguishes "referential" from "stylistic" functions. This parallels Silverstein's distinction between semantico-referential and the other (indexical and iconic) sign modes, although in Silverstein's scheme there is as well indexical (i.e., "ostensive") reference.

Silverstein's scheme is more delicate not only in distinguishing between indexical and iconic, within the "stylistic" function, however, but as well in distinguishing two senses of "function" itself. There are means-functions ("function$_2$"), where the sign vehicle is considered in terms of its communicative contribution, and end-functions ("function$_1$"), where the sign is considered in terms of the social purpose for which it is being used. Silverstein thus supplies us with a set of cross-cutting distinctions, which establish a complex conceptual framework for thinking about the problem of function.

3

"Diglossia" (Ferguson 1959) shows some intermediate characteristics in this regard. It presents striking similarities to the situation of standard language plus regional dialects, which would suggest classification apart from "stylistic" variation in the present sense. However, whereas in the latter case there is a subgroup of speakers regularly employing the standard in all situations, in diglossia no such subgroup exists. Use of the "high" form is contextually determined, and this suggests that the variation is stylistic. However, in some cases, at least, the "low" forms evidently mark or index subgroup membership, as

happens with Schwyzerdütsch or Christian Arabic, and this may be an essential feature in all situations of diglossia. As such, diglossia would fall outside the subclass of variation in language referred to here as stylistic. This paper, in any event, deals just with those phenomena that are transparently "stylistic," where indexing of subgroup membership is not essential to the nature of the code variant, i.e., we could think of the variants as functioning perfectly well even if all speakers employed them.

4

Similarly, if diglossia is indeed stylistic variation, in the present sense, the functional specificity of the code variants would seem to be of this "equipollent" nature, judging from Ferguson's (1959) descriptions. Certainly, the evidence for a marked/unmarked relationship between the functions of the code variants is not obvious.

5

Following up on the hypothesis concerning salient speech styles and emphasized social contexts in Central Brazilian, one may wonder whether in Dyirbal culture there is special emphasis on in-law relations, and whether the latter provide a key to Dyirbal culture. In this regard, knowledge of the content of discourse between in-laws, who are using the mother-in-law code, would be invaluable.

6

See the articles in Bauman and Sherzer (1974), especially those by Fox and Sherzer. The close descriptions of Kuna chanting by Sherzer (1981), indeed, in part inspired the present research.

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